1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

nuclear family."[20] Specifically, Murdock mentioned in this regard widespread poverty which inhibits wife purchase, Christian religious principles that forbid polygyny, the concept of private property and its attendant independence, and a shift of inheritance customs from primogeniture to division among a number of heirs.[21] Nearly every one of these modifications and influences has been at work among the Mapuche, with the consequence that their clan system, if they actually had one, has been destroyed; their unilocal, patrilocal household units are no longer maintained; levirate, sororate, and other polygynous arrangements are practically nonexistent; cross-cousin marriage has become a rarity; and yet the old Omaha terminology persists, having survived in spite of drastic changes of marriage, descent, and residence practices.

UNILOCAL HOUSEHOLDS AND POLITICAL UNITS

At no time in their recorded history do the Araucanians seem to have had anything like a formal and comprehensive political structure. When they were fighting major campaigns, they elected supreme commanders and lesser officers at public assemblies of adult males. The orders of these leaders were obeyed throughout the range of the entire tribe. Apparently, such large-scale organization was regarded as an emergency measure for, with the coming of peace, administrative controls reverted to the heads of small local units.[22] Never was there a continuously functioning tribal authority that had jurisdiction in times of peace, nor is there any record of true legislating bodies or procedures. Such "laws" as existed were not precisely formulated, and amounted to no more than traditional usages. Natives refer to them as *admapu* ("customs of the land"[23]) or as *piam* ("it is said"[24]) in the sense of sayings handed down by the ancestors. Even the most widely distributed of these beliefs and practices,

[20] Murdock, 1949, p. 203.
[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 201–8.
[22] See the treatment of this topic in Cooper, 1946, p. 724.
[23] Molina, 1808, II: 56; Augusta, 1916, I: 1.
[24] Augusta, 1916, I: 178.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

621 626 however, were not necessarily in force throughout the entire tribal domain. And yet it cannot be said that the Mapuche lived in a state of anarchy.

621 592 Apparently, the principal weight of political authority ran along lines of kinship, and the unilocal household seems to have been the central element in the system. Each household comprised a localized and permanent succession of males, supplemented essentially by their wives and unmarried daughters. In the area south of the Cautín River the entire group, consisting of as many as eighty people, lived literally under a single roof;[35] north of the Cautín the unilocal arrangement was observed only in principle, inasmuch as three or four successive generations of men would build small, but independent *rukas* in close proximity to one another. These clusters are known as *lov*, *lof*, or *lofche*,[36] and in the aggregate their occupants comprise the same kin that lived in one large dwelling.

622 592 627 [421] Each of the localized kinship groups was essentially autonomous when no major fighting was taking place. Normally, one of the oldest men held the position of chief, *loñko*, and at his death the office descended to his son, brother, or paternal nephew as the surviving men of the unit decided. It was the chief who held at least nominal title to his group's land, and it was he who allotted parts for the use of particular followers.[37] His advice was sought on all occasions, and no man of his unilocal household or its equivalent could marry without his consent. He was also expected to supervise payment of *llañkan* that involved his retainers. *Llañkan* was a form of restitution or wergild which had to be paid by a murderer to the survivors

622 592 627 681

[35] Latcham, 1924, p. 263. A description of a large unilocal household, with partitions separating the quarters assigned to a man's married sons, occurs in Smith, 1855, p. 295.

[36] It is interesting to speculate on the precise significance of these words. Augusta (1916, I: 116) translated *lof* as "break" or "collapse." I am tempted to think that the word applies to an aggregate of households that represents the breakdown of an older system of strictly unilocal residence. Latcham (1924, p. 263) used the word *lov* for these groups of structures.

[37] Cf. Smith, 1855, p. 241.

539

Woman's Counterreply

feula anai koñi
tami un meu
kimael ayüpen
fei-üla nay ñi piuke
femül mi kimei
rume ayüeyu ula.

Free translation.—Just now, dear cousin (husband), I have heard what I wanted to hear from your own lips. Now my heart is restored to its proper place. If you do what is right, I shall love you more than ever.

Woman's Song No. 4

cod-cod peuma
küme peuman
fei neu felen
ñi rumue küme füta.

Free translation.—I dreamed of a deer. It was a good omen, and that is why I find myself with my lovely husband.

Interpretation.—To dream of a deer is particularly auspicious. The deer is regarded as a gentle and good animal that never hurts anyone and never spoils or destroys anything. When a wife sings in this fashion, all the auditors congratulate the happy couple, who are in need neither of advice nor guidance.

539
593
825
787

Woman's Song No. 5[18]

539

rumel re ko peuman
famguechi ñi konpayam
ko engu pod fotra kei
fei neu dungu ka lei.

Free translation.—I always dreamed only of clear water. That is how I thought things were going to be, but water and

[18]This song and the next two were termed pifimal kaun ("ironic" or "sarcastic") by Collío. According to him, songs of this type comprise an important form of social control among the Mapuche. Sometimes, it is the only way in which conduct can be regulated. For example, a man who beats his wife may be induced to stop if people are sarcastic to him.

[626]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

should. In the absence of men, women were quite talkative and intelligently so.

Men were seen showing consideration for their wives and being helpful when needed. For instance, a man was seen doing such things as tightening the saddle for her when she was mounted on her horse; handing her baskets or sacks which she was about to transport on horseback; holding a baby or taking turns carrying it when walking distances; arranging her silver hair ornaments before she was photographed; fetching things for her while she was preparing food at fiestas; building a fire for roasting meat or heating water for yerba maté. Men made the arrangements to have a wife photographed "in her old Mapuche ornaments; she has nice ones you know." A non-Araucanian herbalist observed, "I have been in homes where a sick wife was treated to yerba maté by her husband and where he prepared the meal for the family."

The impression that the literature gives, that the Araucanian women were slaves to the men, was not substantiated by observations made during the present study. Neither did Araucanian women nor non-Araucanian informants consider it to be the truth.

Conflicts between husband and wife to the point of quarreling, or worse, occur but are rare, as in former times. Current cases were discussed in each area, but each case was cited as an exception. Quoting two Alepúe informants: "Our neighbor and his wife had a serious quarrel every few weeks for several years until a woman in their neighborhood was finally married; the wife accused her husband of having affection for this woman. Whenever she accused him of this, he whipped her with a lasso. Often her back had wales from the beatings. One time her husband pulled her out of the ruka by her hair. The wife came to us to complain; she pointed toward the other woman's ruka and yelled, 'There she lives, that devil!' The husband came to explain that he had merely talked to the woman." "One married couple here is known to quarrel much—something that is not a Mapuche custom. The wife tries to give orders that the husband thinks he should give; that is why they quarrel. I was there once, when a quarrel was on, and I told them that they were acting like Chileans; that such conduct was not customary among the Mapuche, and that ended it—at least for then."

Parents are fond of their children. One mother sat by, holding their 2-year-old baby in her lap, while her husband gave information. She cuddled the child, stroked its hair, repeatedly looked fondly at it, and gave it a prolonged kiss saying, "Ellaken!"—the equivalent of "You sweet thing! I could eat you up!" A father, too, was often seen

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

Luisa Minchiqueo, who lives with an older brother, is unmarried and childless, but she is of childbearing age. It is unlikely that she will marry as long as her middle-aged brother, Pablo, is alive. Luisa cares for her brother's house and prepares all his meals for him. Pablo, who is a bachelor, attends to the field work, sometimes hiring assistance during harvest and planting time. Luisa has charge of the barnyard animals and the vegetable garden. Pablo is regarded as "crazy" (*loco, wesalonko*) by his neighbors and kinsmen, since he is given to periodic screaming, self-inflicted violence, and other erratic behavior which makes him the butt of many jokes in the neighborhood.

Luisa rarely ventures beyond her brother's compound, although Pablo takes his leave frequently. Like her brother, Luisa does not participate in any group activities, such as fiestas or religious ceremonies, and seems apathetic in regard to most local events. She rarely has visitors from among the reservation inhabitants, but occasionally her married sisters and their children come to see her and Pablo.

Her brother is a rather well-to-do man by local standards. He has also had a secondary-school education, while Luisa is barely literate. Because of his behavioral peculiarities he is not "taken seriously" by most of his peers and has little or no voice in community affairs. Some males of his lineage do not even acknowledge consanguineal bonds with him, although the genealogy of the reservation leaves no doubt of the relationship.

Since Luisa remains closely associated with her peculiar brother and because she has failed to fulfill the adult female role of marrying (even uxorilocally) and bearing children, she also is on the periphery of the local group.

Men seemed to pity her for not being able to marry, but they said that her brother has a right to expect her to care for him. The remarks of few women varied from the comment that it was unfortunate that she had to spend all her time with her brother and did not have a husband and children to look after.

Some people hinted that she was having an incestuous relationship with her brother, but this was denied by most members of the reservation, who resented the gossip. Indeed, had an incestuous relationship been going on to the knowledge of the community, Pablo's closest kinsmen would have been obliged to order him to desist or leave the reservation. If he had not abided by their orders, he would have been physically punished. The Chilean police might even have been called in to settle the matter. Pablo would certainly have been ostracized.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

matters will be discussed between husband and wife, the wife outlining her plans to her husband and the husband agreeing or disagreeing as he sees fit. His disagreement, though, does not end the matter, for the wife is at liberty to dispose of what are considered her rightful possessions, even though her husband may hold a different opinion. It is the husband's place to make countersuggestions if he disagrees with his wife's proposals, but he seldom feels himself in a strong enough position to actually forbid her to act without restraint. Families in which husbands rule with an iron hand live in an atmosphere of discord which eventually comes to the attention of the community. Social pressures tend to restore a measure of harmony, at least after a crisis has been reached, since a husband is subject to certain ridicule if his wife complains about his actions to other women and derives sympathy from them. A man will, therefore, usually accede to a number of his wife's wishes if for no other reason than to keep the dissension from extending beyond his immediate family, to maintain at least the fiction of a well-ordered household. On the other hand, a nagging wife does not gain the sympathy of her housemates or neighbors, and it is the husband whose complaints or recourse to physical violence are sanctioned. A shrewish wife is sometimes regarded as *wesa* or *loca* (crazy).

After the spouses settle down to gaining a living and begetting children, there seems to be a noticeable de-emphasis of the romantic emotions which characterize early matrimony. While courtship behavior is notoriously secretive, the early marital period, before the birth of the first child, is one in which affection between husband and wife is often openly displayed in the presence of others. This relationship seems to undergo a marked change after the first child is born, but since I have seen only a few such cases my remarks are wholly impressionistic.

There seems to be no stigma attached to excessive virility in extramarital affairs or a lack of it in regard to familial sex. Indeed, the ideal male performance may be characterized as *machoismo*, or masculinity, in the Ladino sense with the full implication of promiscuity. Women may be ridiculed for displaying what is considered an overinterest in sex, indicated by their conversation and by their attentions to their husbands. There is the notion that a sexually "overactive" wife is given to looseness, an accusation sometimes made in arguments with other women.

Philandering brings no more than mild social rebuke, provided

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

593 dignity in their relationship. This consideration shown by the older for the younger brother modifies the ascribed authority of the older and tends to make the fraternal relationship a relatively compatible one.

Discord between brothers might arise in childhood at about the time the older is attempting to slough off some of the more onerous chores and household duties onto the younger. These situations involve trickery, bantering, wheedling, and often result in outbursts of temper and fighting, but they do not set the tone of adolescent and adult fraternal relationships. If a mother cannot control her sons, she complains to their father, who settles the matter authoritatively. Boys are ashamed to be punished by their father since this is an indication of their immaturity. The fact that they have to demonstrate readiness to assume adult responsibilities conditions their behavior toward their father to a much greater degree than toward their mother.

There is a closeness between brothers which characterizes their relationship throughout life. This pattern is so strong that deviation [626] from it is cause for community gossip, if not pity for the principals. Brothers generally set up adjacent households, after moving from the parental roof, and engage in cooperative activities more frequently among themselves than with other residents on the reservation, perhaps with the exception of their father. Their children become the closest of friends, as do their wives, who, in line with traditional marriage practices, may be real or classificatory sisters themselves.

[613] From the time they reach full masculine vigor brothers generally form the strongest nucleus of their lineage branch and begin to displace their father in political and economic activities. As a fraternal group they stand united even against other kin, and there is a saying to the effect that brothers take up each other's arguments with "outsiders." Viewed from the outside, then, they form a solid front.

Brothers may unite in opposition to ideas or demands of their father, especially if they consider the old man's views to be old-fashioned. They tend to be "social" companions, accompanying one another to ceremonies, fiestas, to town, on visits, and so forth. One [584] often acts as the go-between in a love affair of the other; an older brother might help negotiate his younger brother's marriage. They form the most productive work unit of the household or *lofche*, if they live in an extended family, albeit under the guidance of their father. A further indication of the close working relationships among

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

relationship. These bonds are symbolically expressed and revalidated during the several phases of the protracted marriage ritual.

Courtship and marriage are both rather rigidly circumscribed by considerations of morality. Patrilineal exogamy is a Mapuche rule which is not capable of being broken, if exogamy is considered at the level of marriage rather than with reference to pre- or extramarital affairs. Even casual affairs take place with almost full observance of the exogamic rule. Breaches occasionally occur. These, however, are usually due to ignorance or drunken abandon, and are quickly brought to an end by community action, which imposes ostracism or banishment in cases where continued infraction is indicated. Intralineage sexual affairs almost never occur, but there is a danger of casual relationships taking place between a man and the marriage-linked lineage into which his lineage sister has married. Usually, this is due to ignorance on the part of the offenders, who in most cases are adolescents unaware of the special bonds which place them in a proscribed category. Any sexual connection between a man and a woman from the lineage into which his father's sister, father's brother's daughter, or own sister has married is, by definition of the matrilateral rule, considered incest. Marriage could not take place under these conditions. Inadvertent or, in the rare instances of occurrence, defiant sexual affairs between persons so related are described by the Mapuche as "copulating like dogs."

While lineage exogamy is essentially one hundred percent complete—considering marriage only, it is unquestionably complete—it is, nevertheless, the negative, proscriptive aspect of the marriage rule, with reference to lineages linked through fathers' sisters (real or classificatory), which underscores the strength of the matrilateral preference. In effect, a man marries matrilaterally or (rarely) entirely outside the traditional framework of paired wife-giving and wife-receiving groups. Although preferential rather than prescriptive, the Mapuche marriage system is highly preferential, the flow of women or the acquisition of wives being almost rigidly unilateral. There is not a hint of simple exchange between intermarrying lineages, which would

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

role and at the same enhances (or at least serves to maintain) his political status.

It is of interest to consider the part played by in-married women in *füillatun* ceremonies. I am not referring to the occasional participation of a *machi*, although I might mention that in no instance may she be a lineal member of the host group, for this would jeopardize the ancestral spirits of the hosts. Nor do *machi* have as familiars spirits other than those on the order of a grandmother's or great-grandmother's spirit. These familiars may or may not be ancestral to other lineages in the congregation. Since *machi* tend to marry outside the patterned matrilateral system, the risk of their dealing with spirits of importance to the ritual congregation is slight. In any case, the *machi* represents her reservation as a community without special consideration of lineage membership.

With respect to most in-married women, it may be said that their ritual roles are commensurate with their marriage links with the most responsible males of the reservation. They may have important roles in the preparation and serving of food to special guests, they may be leaders in the various ritual dances; or they may have simpler roles, such as preparing food only for their household and immediate relatives or participating in one or more dances simply as followers. Their presence, however, is demanded. Upon marriage, they receive the right to participate as responsible members of the reservation community and, thereafter, participation is obligatory. That obligation is attached to their being members of a community (and a ritual congregation), not as members of any of the lineages therein. It is significant that in-married women are excluded from preliminary rites, in which lineage ancestors are propitiated, and in which they have little or no stake. Still, in-married women must participate in the general *füillatun* ceremony, and regularly. If they express a desire not to attend regularly, it is possible that they will be labelled *kalku*.

One effect of the extension of these performance rights to in-married women is that all lineages on any reservation are, through in-married women alone, amalgamated into a single ritual entity. This feature supports the ritual bond which is felt

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

chiefs of other reservations within the responsible core, and this is expected of him by the members of his community. If a chief shirks this obligation, as occasionally happens when he is quite poor or does not care to make contributions, it is an affront to the ancestors and the gods. His constituents complain. If there seems some danger of breaking the ritual cycle, members of the linked reservations begin to grumble. Pressure is brought to bear on a recalcitrant chief by heads of subordinate lineages on his own reservation (his informal council) and by the chiefs of the linked reservations.

Elder of the dominant lineage, repository of ritual knowledge, responsible both to authentic and to mythical ancestors, spokesman for his entire community, the chief is the only person who is able to integrate the members of his reservation in concerted action and to represent them in the traditional manner in the ritual congregation. It is characteristic of being chief that ritual responsibility rests heavily with the position. The obverse side of this is that ordinary members of the community, who are not themselves elders, generally follow the chief's leadership in ritual matters without question, and often without full understanding or, at least, with apparently greater interest in the more festive as distinguished from the religious details of *ñillatun*.

The chief's ritual leadership among the contemporary Mapuche, more than any other single factor, bolsters his political leadership. It is doubtful that this state of affairs is a carry-over from prereservation times. Rather, only since the localization of the Mapuche in small agricultural communities has *ñillatun* involved such a large and heterogeneous congregationalism, and only since congregational development of this sort has taken place has the chief's political authority rested to such an extent on his role in public ritual. Formerly, it rested largely on his military ability, which enabled him to command allegiance in time of hostilities from a greater-than-kinship group.

The close and dependent relationship of the chief's political and ritual leadership to the integration of the reservation community is especially striking in contrast to its absence on reservations not having strong chiefs. These are the kinds studied by Titiev, which might partly account for the great

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

754 (grown children in one case and husband and children in the
76 other) remained away from the *ñillatun*. They were not invited
769 and they seemed not to wish to participate. A *kalku*'s children
796 are not automatically charged with being witches, but it is never overlooked that their mother was a witch and, if their actions seem peculiar and threatening, they too may fall under the shadow of suspicion.

754 Another case which came to my attention was that of a woman accused of killing her entire family. No means of ascertaining the actual cause of death was available to me, but they all died within a six-month period. The surviving woman had been suspected of dealing in witchcraft, and this catastrophe was all the proof the community needed. They called upon the [755] services of a *machi* to perform a *machitun* (or *machipurun*), and at considerable expense since several *machi* and their assistants were involved in a daylong ceremony. The *kalku* was not evicted from the reservation, because the land was scheduled for division into severalties and the people wanted no interference from the Chilean police at that time. It was hoped that the witch would sell her land, once the reservation was disbanded, and move away. The police were informed of the multiple murder-by-witchcraft but apparently took the matter lightly.

578 When feelings are especially strained between persons, even
754 though they may be members of the same family, spontaneous
626 accusations of witchcraft are sometimes made in anger, especially if either person suffers injury, sickness, or bad luck. Usually, both the fear of sorcery and the fear of being called a witch curtails rivalry and overt hostility. But it is not so effective a mechanism that such fears are not felt and accusations occasionally made, regardless of the consequences to the persons [595] or groups involved. It appears that in polygynous households co-wives levy these charges against one another, especially when relationships are strained because one wife is favored over an- [596] other. This sort of thing also occurs in extended-family house- [606] holds between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, and between [607] brothers' wives, most usually when the women are not related patrilineally. But the possibility of witchcraft being practiced against one from almost any quarter within one's residential

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

kingroup is great enough so that no previous hostility need have been expressed. Not all of these charges are of equal weight, however. It is felt that people do not always mean what they say and that calling a person a witch is, in a fit of temper or while drunk, no more than a very cutting remark, one which may be shrugged off unless repeated on several occasions and taken seriously by others.

The innumerable stories about witchcraft seem exaggerated if one measures them against the actual charges of witchcraft made within earshot during a year's residence with the Mapuche. Even the assumption that many accusations have not come to the investigator's attention does not seem to reconcile the apparent disparity between witchcraft stories and actual events. The stories support the fears of the people, and the fears are obvious even apart from the stories. There seem to be two possible explanations for the disparity. Either the stories are wholly fictitious, in which case they would still be important and in a sense "real," or they are the accumulation of generations. Judging from internal evidence—such as accounts of witchburning—they are at least partly the accumulation of generations and represent the heritage of the contemporary Mapuche. To some extent this means that, while witchcraft is undeniably of great importance, fears are kept within certain bounds and, as generalized fears, are not disruptive to the solidarity of any single community.

Of significance in this regard is one case in which I, as a resident in an involved household, was particularly cognizant. It concerned a falling-out between two minimal lineages, adjacent extended-family households, on a multilineage reservation. Specifically, a young man contested his father's brother's claim to farm implements and some land left as undeclared property by the deceased. Both uncle and nephew called each other a witch on every occasion they met, and referred to each other as such. They complained to the rest of the community that each was a practicing sorcerer, was killing animals, causing crops to spoil, sending *wekufe* disguised as rats to eat the grain in the cribs, and many similar things. A great breach of etiquette was involved, since the nephew showed such disrespect for a lineage elder who was a very close relative. Still, few people took these

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

754 accusations seriously, saying that the old man was hot-headed
578 and the young man wrong-headed. Even so, there had been no mention of an attempt to kill by witchcraft, an accusation which would certainly have been disruptive to the entire community. It is only with regard to the more petty annoyances that charges of witchcraft are levied against such a close relative.

754 Another instance indicates how a serious charge was tailored
578 by the community so that the status quo could be maintained.
626 This concerns a man and his married sister. The man claimed, in a fit of anger and fear, that his own sister had attempted to poison him. She had made a visit from her husband's reservation and had spent a few days in her brother's house. One day she left, and shortly afterward her brother became ill and vomited the food she had prepared for him. None of the other members of the household or of the entire lineage, for that matter, felt that the man's sister was responsible, and they fixed blame on her husband, who, they said, had bewitched her into administering the poison. The man swore to avenge himself on his sister's husband, but did not speak of any action against her. Rather, several of the man's relatives said that the thing to do would be to bring the woman back to live with her brother, because it was obvious that she was living with an evil man.

754 Given the rampant fear of sorcery, it is understandable that a
756 *machi* who had a falling-out with someone would be especially feared, since she has power. There is no reason why she could not use it against someone who has wronged her, although it is generally felt that *machi*, as professionals, are too morally responsible to engage in vengeance lightly. There is always the possibility that the *machi* might think the person who has injured her is a *kalku*. Be that as it may, there is some room for confusing the forces of good and evil when a person is laboring under fear of witchcraft. But there is really little room for confusion when the *machi* and *kalku* are considered with respect to their long-term, regular, professional activities. Quite simply, *machi* are not considered professional sorcerers. Also, it is felt that *machi* are fearful of *kalku*, and that the reverse is not true. This, again, at least by implication, places the *machi* in the camp of goodness and right.

754 The *kalku* operates most effectively from her *reñu*, her haunt,

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

754 598 618 613 182 582 are obliged to recognize a certain measure of common sentiment involved in traditional kinship etiquette. Furthermore, women standing in such relationship are generally married to members of the same sublineage, among whom we have already noted a high degree of solidarity and an absence of fear from supernatural harm by their closest kinsmen. Long common residence among in-married women is quite important in establishing bonds of friendship which inspire trust. In this regard, it seems significant that the younger generation of wives is suspicious of the older women, whereas among the older women themselves the relationships are generally rather amicable.

754 578 593 [618] Serious charges brought against his wife involves a man in entanglements over sorcery. Men tend to avoid such embroilments by deemphasizing the importance of the accusations made by members of the residential kingroup, and, to the extent that they involve their wives and kinswomen, explain the animosities and fears in psychological terms of maladjustment, in a manner which is rather sophisticated in itself or, perhaps, detracts from the supposed sophistication of such explanations. A man might become incensed at his wife for stirring up trouble among his kinsmen over unfounded fears. Consequently, with an eye to maintaining domestic harmony, wives tend not to bother their husbands with their fears of sorcery and the accusations that others have made, since the men almost inevitably show annoyance or anger. Instead, one finds that [626] there are whispering campaigns among the women against those who are suspected of being witches or of engaging their services. Husbands are only partly attuned to the situation since the charges are rarely made openly and tend not to come to the public eye, since murder is not involved.

593 754 595 [832] [842] [178] Even though there are more accusations of sorcery among in-married women, there is rarely fear of murder or serious illness. Co-wives might work love magic against one another to gain preference with their husband, or one might seek to cause another to become sterile. This is no great problem in Mapucheland, however, because of the marked decline in polygynous households. In all cases, however, polygynous or otherwise, it is usually a matter of one woman gaining advantage over another.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

754
782
769
787

difficulty. In time of general hardship, therefore, the public pressure against witches is actually eased; since everyone shows the same signs of deprivation and misfortune, no one is suspected of gaining advantage over another. Attention is directed to gods and public worship.

Under ordinary circumstances, in reasonably good times, public ritual does not suffice to allay fears about the forces of evil. The *machi* and the *kalku* then appear as the most active figures in the contest of good and evil. People have traditional safeguards outside the sphere of professional activity, however, and strive to cement relationships within the area of kinship rights and obligations. Notable among these attempts are the practices of *misha*, *trafkin*, and *konchotun*, interpersonal rituals designed to formalize relationships in a context free from suspicion and fear of sorcery. *Misha*, the ritual sharing of food from a single bowl, symbolizes that the individuals so related are innocent of desiring to harm one another. By demonstrating that the food of which they partake is not poisoned, the two persons also demonstrate their trust in the members of their respective households (who have had a hand in the preparation of the food), and this indicates a trust greater than that involved solely with respect to the shared plate. When one says that he is *misha* with so-and-so or asks another person to become *misha*, he demonstrates not only friendship between himself and another individual, but a relationship of trust with an entire household or sublineage. *Trafkin*, the ritual exchange of gifts between two persons, has the same kind of implication for the individuals and their respective families. The people tangentially involved speak of the *trafkin* relationship of their kinsmen with strong feelings of satisfaction and security. They comprise an unassailable block in an area of charges and countercharges of sorcery. And so with *konchotun*, an even more elaborate and formalized bond between persons, which, similarly, extends to their families. *Konchotun*, a formal and public (during *ñillatun* ceremony) demonstration of special friendship, involves the sacrifice of a lamb and the ceremonial partaking of its meat—at least when the ceremony is undertaken in the fully traditional manner. In any case, though, *konchotun* establishes bonds between individuals and their families which tend to be per-

[756]
[772]
754
602
571
788
626
182
[431]
[782]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

754 602 571 788 626 182 petuated one generation after the next. The practice of witchcraft between persons so related is unthinkable, and the trust filters through their closest kinsmen. *Trafkin* and *konchotun* are practiced between males; *misha* often involves females as well. The mutual respect and confidence exhibited in all cases speaks both for the prevalence of fears of sorcery and the overt efforts to allay such fears. These dyadic ceremonies usually involve just the groups which would be most suspect of practicing sorcery against one another, that is, persons who are members of unrelated lineages in common residence, or those linked by only a few or old and unsustained marriage ties, the interpersonal contract affecting the larger grouping of kin.

Concluding Remarks

754 182 571 A determination of the function of sorcery in Mapuche society must consider the groups and individuals involved and also whether sorcery is directed toward murder or serious illness or merely toward gaining advantage of a lesser nature over a person. When murder is involved, socially and physically distant groups come into supernatural relationship, one which has a greater or less integrating effect on each group depending on the number and the importance of persons immediately concerned. The integrative effect of homicidal sorcery appears to involve a small segment of any lineage group, the most closely related kinsmen of the murderer (the *kalku*'s client) or the victim, as the case may be. When lesser supernatural advantage is at issue, one finds that coresidents are most often involved, and that this lighter side of sorcery has a decidedly disruptive effect on the community if it is persistent and if it is taken seriously by the most responsible males of the group.

771 772 754 182 A most poignant function of sorcery, however, is that it helps explain the operation of evil forces in the Mapuche universe. It helps account for frustration and failure, for the occurrence of strange and unexplainable events. These evil forces are controllable with the assistance of shamans, but their march is accelerated by professional witches. In all cases, the force of evil signifies a moral failure on the part of the Mapuche. On the positive side, however, society converts misfortune into a moral sanction and gives expression to the forces of good through ceremonial assemblages of the ritual congregation.